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A REVIEW OF SOVIET WRITING
ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA

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The Mizan Newsletter aims at giving an objective and balanced account of current Soviet writings on the Middle East and Africa

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Algeria: The Soviet View is an account of the development of the Soviet view of Algerian nationalism, with particular reference to Soviet championship of the ideals of the Algerian Communist Party.

Soviet Impressions of the Moroccan Trade Union Movement reviews some recent Soviet first-hand accounts of the activity and aims of the Union Marocaine du Travail.

Recent Articles on French-Speaking African Countries - Guinea, Mali, Senegal, Chad, Upper Volta, Ivory Coast, Central African Republic and Togo - are reviewed together, as showing the varying degrees of favour or disfavour which these countries' policies elicit from the Soviet Union.

The Middle East in the Soviet Press includes a review of Soviet reporting of the Syrian revolt, comment on events in Turkey, and an article on Soviet oil exports in relation to the Middle East countries.

Africa in the Soviet Press includes Soviet reports on the Congo, Algeria and Tunisia.

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ALGERIA: THE SOVIET VIEW

Soviet writers still speak of "the Algerian problem" as such; and there are many aspects of this problem about which they can only write with caution and circumspection. The Algerian rebellion has been not without its embarrassments for Soviet policy. What precise measure of support, verbal and material, should the Soviet Union give to the rebels? Should their leaders be regarded as the authentic representatives of the Algerian people, while they deny any such qualification to the Algerian Communists? What Soviet attitude will best accord with the interests of the Communist movement in France? What if any links between France and Algeria does the Soviet Union consider it to be in its interest to preserve?

The Soviet Union has accorded de facto recognition to the Algerian "provisional government". It has given publicity to the policy statements of the Algerian Communist Party. The Soviet press reports every major pronouncement of the French Communist Party on Algeria. Solidarity with these various bodies, and also with the Arab and other governments which support the Algerian rebel cause, would seem to leave Soviet policy with little room to manoeuvre. In fact, it may well be a matter of Soviet concern that this solidarity should be maintained on as broad a basis as possible and not be prejudiced by too precise a definition of individual aims at the present stage.

Soviet popular support for the Algerian cause is now an established feature in the mass mobilization of "anti-colonialist" sentiment in the USSR. It is evidently considered necessary that the Soviet Union should yield nothing to the Afro-Asian countries in this respect. Khrushchev has stated (PRAVDA 21.10.60 - his speech to Moscow workers on the work of the Soviet delegation at the 15th UN General Assembly session) that "our sympathies and our support are on the side of the Algerian people, who are waging a just war for their liberation from the foreign yoke". This was visibly exemplified in the enthusiastic articles and statements by organizations and members of the public published in the Soviet press on the occasion of the "Day of Solidarity with the Workers and People of Algeria", 30th November 1960.

There are certain favourite themes in Soviet writing on Algeria. The Algerian war is denounced as a ruthless but futile attempt to crush the Algerian "national liberation movement" in the interests of the French settlers in Algeria, French army extremists, the political Right wing in France and French big business. The USA, Western Germany and NATO are alleged to be supporters of the French military action. French popular dissatisfaction with the Algerian war is emphasized. French conditions for an Algerian settlement have hitherto been condemned as

expressing "reactionary" interests. Statements by President de Gaulle expressing willingness to negotiate, and in particular his recognition of Algeria's claim to self-determination, have been welcomed in principle, but doubt is usually expressed about the effective implementation of his statements.

Soviet commentators insist on the need for a peaceful settlement of the conflict which will ensure the independence and just rights of the Algerian people. They take their stand on the conditions for a settlement laid down by the Algerian leaders. The announcement of impending negotiations has always been welcomed in the Soviet press; the opening of the Lugrin talks was hailed as a "success for the peace-loving forces" (PRAVDA 18.7.61). The interests of France in any negotiated settlement receive at least some slight Soviet acknowledgment; Khrushchev has more than once referred to the "close historical links" between France and Algeria. It is insisted that the interests of France demand a just settlement of the Algerian problem, and Soviet desire for closer friendship with France is emphasized in this connection (PRAVDA 27.10.60).

Soviet support for the Algerian rebels does not extend to financial and military aid, and thereby falls short of the aid given or promised by Communist China and by Algeria's Arab neighbours. Food and medical supplies have been sent, and vocational training equipment for Algerian refugees (MIZAN NEWSLETTER No.10 of 1960, p.24). However, a possible hint of further Soviet aid has been made by a Soviet commentator (PRAVDA 27.10.60):

> "It is legitimate to assume that, if other imperialist states assist France to prosecute the war in Algeria, then the provisional Algerian government, expressing the interests of the people, has the right to receive aid from the states which adopt anti-colonial positions, including the socialist countries."

As regards Soviet acceptance of the FLN leaders at their own valuation, as the authentic representatives of the Algerian people, it may be noted that, although the Algerian "provisional government" was formed in September 1958, it only received de facto recognition by the Soviet Government in October 1960. Khrushchev, in his speech of 20th October 1960 quoted above, said that "the government of the Algerian Republic... is now everywhere regarded as the representative of the Algerian people, as its leader in the struggle for national freedom and independence". However, this does not prevent Soviet writers from claiming that the Algerian Communist Party "represents the demands of the broad masses". A closer look at Soviet writing on Algerian nationalism will reveal the inconsistencies of the Soviet position more clearly.

Before the revolt When the Algerian rebellion broke out, on 1st November 1954, Soviet reserve towards "bourgeois-led" nationalist movements had already been considerably modified, although not sufficiently

to acclaim the movement immediately as one of "national liberation". The Great Soviet Encyclopaedia (1950), while admitting that the "national liberation movement in colonial countries" had spread to Algeria since the beginning of this century - particularly under the influence of the Russian revolutions of 1905-7 and 1917 - has little to say in praise of Algerian nationalist movements. On the pre-1914 "Young Algerian" movement, it notes that only a minority of its supporters called for the creation of an independent Algerian state, and "conducted effective agitation against France". Of the nationalist movements of the 1920s and 1930s, it says that the Étoile Nord-Africaine (of Messali Hadj), formed in Paris by "a group of petit bourgeois emigrants from Algeria", was "used by the German fascists for struggle against progressive elements in Algeria and especially against Communists". Of Ben Badis's Society of Reformist Ulema, formed in 1931, it similarly says that "the German fascists tried to use this organization for their own aims". While saying nothing about Messali's demands for Algerian independence, the Encyclopaedia devotes considerable space to the activities of the Algerian Communist Party. It notes that it was formed in 1924 as a section of the French Communist Party; that from 1928 Arab workers began to join the Party; and that, reconstructed in 1934 as an independent Party, it maintained its organizational connection with the French Communist Party but formulated a special programme for Algeria, comprising the basic demands of "national independence, an end to colonization and the withdrawal of imperialist forces from the country". Of the post-war activities of the Party, the Encyclopaedia presents it as the leader of "the national liberation movement directed against American and French imperialism, against colonial oppression, against the poverty and lack of rights of the working masses". Its Secretary Larbi Buhali, at the fifth congress of the Party in Oran in May 1949, had called for "a national democratic front uniting all national parties and professional organizations struggling for the freedom of Algeria".

The section on Algeria in PEOPLES OF AFRICA, which went to press on 30th September 1954, a month before the outbreak of the Algerian rebellion, shows a certain development of the Soviet line. It states that in the Maghreb countries the "struggle for peace and national independence around the working class" now embraces not only "the broad masses of the people" but also "the national bourgeoisie". It refers to the initiatives of the Algerian Communist Party to form a common front with the nationalist parties, but only presents the latter as the lesser partners in such a coalition, and does not attempt to evaluate for instance the role of the Mouvement pour le Triomphe des Libertés Démocratiques (MTLD) as the standard-bearer of the nationalist extremists at that time. Instead it refers to the Communist Parties of the Maghreb countries as "the standard-bearers of the national and social aspirations of the Maghreb peoples". It notes that the Communists secured the formation in 1951 of the Algerian Front for the Defence and Respect of Liberty, on the basis of a common programme agreed with the MTLD, the Union Démocratique du Manifeste Algérien (UDMA) and the Union of Algerian Ulema, but that "as a result of the position adopted by the bourgeois parties this front ceased its existence in 1952". It further

notes that during 1953 the Algerian Communist Party worked for the formation of an "Algerian democratic national front", and in January 1954 agreed to the MTLD's proposal to call an Algerian National Congress.

Recognition of Algerian nationalism The Algerian rebels were at first referred to as such in Soviet reports; it was only later that they came to be termed "freedom fighters". Soviet rapprochement with Arab nationalism was only then beginning. One of its first expressions, L.N. Vatolina's "The Growth of the National Consciousness of the Peoples of the Arab Countries" (SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA No.5 of 1955), refers briefly to the "armed uprisings of patriots in various regions" of Algeria, as "a new advance of the liberation struggle". Vatolina perhaps endeavours to reflect credit for this on the Algerian Communist Party, by referring to its suppression in September 1955 in the context of measures taken against "fighters for independence". North Africa, "the most important centre of the national liberation struggle of the Arab peoples", is seen as the area where the workers' movement is strongest. In the Arab world in general "the proletariat and its Party" are "the militant and organizing force which fights to draw the broad masses of the workers into the liberation struggle". Having built up a picture of Communist primacy in the independence movements of the North African countries, Soviet writers were reluctant to admit that this was now being disproved by a more militant movement in which the Communists had no share.

Soviet recognition of the rebel movement as a revolutionary movement in its own right, and as the central rallying-point of Algerian national and working-class sentiment, seems to have taken shape slowly during 1956-7. In "The Algerian Problem" (SOV. ET. No.4 of 1957) G.E. Skorov traces the development of Algerian national consciousness, up to the point where the Algerian liberation movement has now assumed "its sharpest, highest form - the form of armed struggle against imperialism". Unlike earlier Soviet commentators, Skorov presents the growth of national (rather than working-class) consciousness as the central phenomenon in Algeria's recent history, and does not insist on the Communist contribution to this. He emphasizes the "all-national character" of the independence movement, embracing the working class, the peasantry, the national bourgeoisie and intelligentsia and religious circles. He recalls how the outlook of the Algerian "national intelligentsia" developed, from 1936 when Ferhat Abbas could deny the existence of an Algerian nation, to 1956 when Ben Bahmed at a congress of the French Socialist Party declared that in Algeria "a nation has been born with a national consciousness". However, it is significant that Skorov has recourse to the formula of the Algerian Communist Larbi Buhali to describe the present political stage in Algeria: "Today the Algerian people is in course of carrying out a democratic, bourgeois, anti-imperialist revolution".

The formation of the "Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic" in September 1958 was the occasion for an article by R.G.Landa

(SOVREMENNYY VOSTOK No.11 of 1958) which examined in detail the organization and activities of the FLN. Landa described with sympathy the functions of the National Council of the Algerian Revolution, the Committee of Coordination and Implementation, the territorial administrative structure and the composition and structure of the army, and gave considerable attention to the social aims of the FLN, particularly agrarian reform. On the political composition of the FLN, Landa noted that "in summer 1956 the Algerian Communist Party united its efforts with those of the FLN, but, in contrast to other parties which disbanded themselves, preserved its organizational and ideological independence, while giving every kind of military and political support to the FLN".

In short, Soviet writing on Algeria during 1957-8 confirmed the Soviet Union's retrospective recognition of the original revolt as a "national liberation movement", whatever its reservations about the "bourgeois" leadership of the movement. At the same time the views of the Algerian Communist Party were kept before the public; a book by the Party's Secretary Larbi Buhali, THE OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN ALGERIA, published in Moscow in 1957, appears (from a review in SOVREMENNYY VOSTOK No.4 of 1957) to have been uncontroversial and merely designed to emphasize the compatibility of Communism and the Algerian nationalist movement.

The FLN and the Communists Recently, however, perhaps as a result of differences between the Algerian leaders and the Communists, Soviet writers have returned to the position of championing the role of the Algerian Communist Party as the standard-bearer of national unity, mobilizing on its own account the support of the worker and peasant masses for the FLN. Further, the view seems now to be taken that it was only after "the union of all patriotic forces" (including the Communist Party) during the course of the armed struggle - that is, in 1956 - that the movement "finally assumed the form of a national revolution" (R.G. Landa, VOPROSY ISTORII No.5 of 1960, p.81). Landa quotes the Algerian Communist Bachir Hadj Ali on the subject of the present higher political and military level of the struggle - for which indeed the Algerian Communists claim credit.

It is not without significance that, very soon after the Soviet Government's de facto recognition of the Algerian "provisional government", KOMMUNIST (No.16 of 1960) published a long article by Larbi Buhali, First Secretary of the Algerian Communist Party, explaining the attitude of the Communists towards the FLN. Speaking of the unity of national forces around the FLN, Larbi Buhali says that "this unity in its form and content differs from the unity for which the Algerian Communist Party is always calling". The Party had welcomed the formation of the provisional government and expressed the wish to take part in it, in view of its own contribution in the military struggle, but this wish was never granted; the Communists had no place in the government or in its organs. However, the Party's support for the government was not conditional upon participation in it. "At the present stage of

the historical evolution of Algeria" the main "contradiction" was not between the working class and the bourgeoisie, although this remained, but the conflict between the Algerian people and the "foreign oppressor". The present revolution was anti-feudal, anti-imperialist and democratic, "under the leadership of representatives of the bourgeoisie, or of people who, although of modest substance, adhere to the ideology of the national bourgeoisie". This bourgeois-led revolution had been not without faults and shortcomings, and it was the task of the Algerian Communist Party to disclose and remove them. The "military factor" must not be emphasized at the expense of the political; the political level of the fighters must be raised, and the army must remain a people's army serving exclusively the interests of the people. The support of the masses for the armed struggle must be mobilized, and in particular the support of the workers in the Union Générale des Travailleurs Algériens. Unity above all was vital, and "in particular it is essential to abandon the policy of isolation of the Algerian Communists". In the provisional government "there are people who make no secret of their anti-Communist persuasions". Finally, it was necessary "constantly to strengthen and extend the alliance of the Algerian people with all the progressive forces of the world, and in particular with the socialist countries, our natural and reliable allies in the anti-imperialist struggle".

The fact is, of course, that the FLN claims for itself and for its aims and programme at least as broad a "popular" basis as does the Algerian Communist Party. Between their published programmes there is little material difference; that of the FLN gives as much attention to social issues, such as land reform, as that of the Communists. In organization and in the formulation of its doctrine the FLN has learnt much from the Communist example. The basic factor is evidently that of FLN antipathy towards the Communists as such. The FLN insists on "maintenance of the Communist influence in its chrysalis cocoon".* The points of difference, including that of foreign policy - the Communists demand an orientation of the FLN towards the Communist bloc - are glossed over in Soviet accounts; but Soviet writers' continued insistence on the "bourgeois" character of the FLN leadership shows that the views of the Algerian Communists still receive due attention in Moscow.

Nationalism and the European — Another aspect of Algerian nationalism that is glossed over in Soviet accounts is its racial or religious basis. What do Soviet writers understand by the term "the Algerian nation"? Is "Algerian" here used in its widest sense, to include all races inhabiting Algeria?

Reviewing Marcel Egretaud's REALITE DE LA NATION ALGERIENNE, V. Trubintsyn (SOVREM. VOS. No.1 of 1958) agreed with the author's thesis that "the Algerian nation, like any other, is formed not on a racial or

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* In the Soummam conference statement of the FLN, quoted in ALGERIA, Jean Gillespie, London 1960, p.139.

religious but a historical basis". Algeria, in the words of a leading French Communist, was "a community, which may be considered as settled, historically formed on the basis of a common territory and a common economic life which has been distorted by the colonial regime". In the struggle for an Algeria free from this regime "the links are becoming tighter between the different ethnic groups and the Algerian national character is developing", and European elements were playing a significant part in this. The trade union movement, in which Arabs, Berbers, Jews and Europeans were in brotherly unity, "has been and remains a great school where the national consciousness of the people is fashioned"; this brotherly unity also underlay the activity of the Algerian Communist Party. A clear illustration of this was "the growing participation of many Algerians of European origin in the national liberation struggle".

On the other hand, at least in recent Soviet writing, "Algerian" and "French settler" are plainly used as mutually exclusive terms. Thus I.I. Potekhin (AFRICA LOOKS AHEAD, Moscow 1960) says: "The country will be governed by the Algerians, and the French settlers will either have to clear out or to stay and share the rights and possibilities of the Algerians".

In view of the fundamental role of French Communists in shaping the Algerian Communist movement, the Soviet Union would no doubt have preferred to see Algerian nationalism assume a less exclusive form than it has done. But the further role of French Communists in Algeria may be a matter of Soviet concern, and the Soviet desire for the maintenance of "the close historic links between France and Algeria" is perhaps an expression of this.

SOVIET IMPRESSIONS OF THE MOROCCAN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The Soviet press has recently given considerable attention to the incidence of strikes in Morocco. Morocco indeed is an example of an African state which, while enjoying friendly relations with the Soviet Union, is subjected by Soviet writers to a fairly close scrutiny of its social problems. Recent Soviet articles on the situation of the trade unions in Morocco, based on first-hand impressions, exhibit the usual Soviet sympathy with the working-class movement. What is more out of the ordinary, however, is that these articles are written from the standpoint of sympathy - but not full agreement - with the Union Marocaine du Travail (UMT), whose leaders arranged a conducted tour for their Soviet visitors. It may be recalled here that the "independent political role" of the UMT, as opposed for instance to the government-controlled status of the Tunisian trade unions, has previously earned Soviet approval (MIZAN NEWSLETTER No.2 of 1961, p.5). At the same time the articles under review say nothing of the situation of the Moroccan

Communist Party (suppressed in 1960), which, according to the orthodox Soviet view, is the leader in the movement for social and economic reform in Morocco. Evidently this is another case of a Soviet ideological concession to reality in the interests of immediate political advantage. However, the ideology of the UMT itself does not pass uncriticized by one of its Soviet guests.

Two points about the UMT should be noted. Firstly, it is affiliated to the ICFTU; Soviet support for an ICFTU-affiliated trade union organization is unusual. Secondly, it is opposed by a Government-sponsored organization, the Union Generale des Travailleurs Marocaines (UGTM), which is not, however, affiliated to the ICFTU. The ICFTU regional African conference held in Tunis in November 1960 attacked the Moroccan Government for "instituting a government organization, claiming to be a trade union body, in order to break up the unity of the working class"; it denounced arrests of trade unionists in Morocco (L'OUVRIER ALGERIEN, Tunis, December 1960). Yu. Potemkin, a leading writer on Morocco, in describing the split in the Moroccan trade union movement, writes with more sympathy of the UMT than of the UGTM; he notes that the latter "at its constituent session especially emphasized its loyalty to Islam and to the King" (MIZAN NEWSLETTER No.2 of 1961, p.7).

I. Penchenko (TRUD 15 and 19.7.61) describes the aims and achievements of the UMT, of which he was able to judge in the course of the Soviet visitors' conducted tour. The UMT, he says, has much to be proud of, having a membership of 650,000 including agricultural workers. Youth labour organizations cooperate actively with it. Since the total number of workers in Morocco is about 1,200,000, this is over half the labour force. All the members are well organized and documented; the visiting Soviet trade union delegation once ran into a gang of road-menders, each of whom was able to produce his union card.

The UMT, says Penchenko, is not concerned only with problems directly affecting the labour force; it holds the view that the trade unions should play an active part in the political life of the country. Its aims are: "the development of the national economy, free from foreign control; the unconditional evacuation of all foreign troops and the liquidation of bases on Moroccan territory; support for a responsible government and the establishment of a constitutional regime; and the implementation of an independent foreign policy". All this meets with approval; the complaints are on different counts. The UMT, says Penchenko, is not radical enough in the field of labour relations. Continuous struggle against the authorities does not enter into its plans.

> "The trade union organization has no homogeneous, single programme of demands for raising the standard of living of the workers. This is explained by the fact that demands in practice are worked out and put forward by the branch unions, taking into account the present needs and interests of the workers of the particular branch".

Another fault which Penchenko finds with the UMT is in the ideological sphere. At the last UMT conference, he says, the principle was expressed that "there are no contradictions between the interests of the workers and the interests of other layers of Moroccan society". But, from what the Soviet delegation had seen during their visit, such "contradictions" were in fact very acute; most peasants were without land of their own, while vast holdings were in the possession of the state and the royal family. In the spring of this year there had been an armed rising by the peasants of Beni Melal, driven to desperation by poverty and the oppression of the landlords. "We were told more than once by workers and trade unionists that since Morocco gained independence the situation of the workers had noticeably deteriorated." All this showed the unreality of the UMT slogan of "equality of opportunity for all". (Penchenko is of course concerned to show the reality of "class contradictions" in Morocco, since the Soviet view cannot accept the absence of class war.)

However, Penchenko remarks, the UMT has secured many improvements in conditions for its members, such as the 48-hour week, paid holidays, a guaranteed minimum wage, etc.; but this is subject to agreement between the union and the employer, and it is implied that, since almost half the workers do not belong to the UMT, they are not getting the same fair deal. Several instances are quoted of workers being unable to live decently on their wage. Details are given of average wage levels but not of prevailing prices.

According to Penchenko, although Morocco is nominally independent, most of its industry is still in the hands of foreigners, particularly the French. Profits are made by "robbing the workers". Morocco has in fact little industry, and the home market is almost non-existent. There is a great deal of unemployment, but a shortage of skilled workers; this keeps wages at a minimum. Penchenko agrees that industry must be developed, but disapproves of proposals by the Moroccan government to raise the necessary capital abroad. He is more enthusiastic about the proposals of the UMT - "the nationalization of power installations and transport, issue and credit banks, the implementation of tax reforms with a view to increasing taxes on high incomes, the use of national resources solely for the development of the economy, and increased importation of industrial equipment, particularly from the socialist countries".

Penchenko devotes some attention to strike activity in Morocco, although he does not attribute this directly to the UMT. He mentions a strike by fishermen in Safi, which took place during the delegation's visit. There was a clash between the strikers and the gendarmerie. "The Safi strike is far from being the only example of violent class warfare in Morocco." Penchenko lists other recent strikes, and concludes: "In the light of these events it is very difficult to believe that in Morocco 'there are no contradictions between the interests of the workers and the interests of other layers of society'."

N. Paklin, in an article in NEW TIMES (No.34 of 1961) on "Morocco's Trade Unions", emphasizes the leading part played by the UMT in the organization of strikes. The strikers, he says, have a workers' solidarity fund which enables them to live while on strike. Paklin describes the strike in the Derby shoe factory and that at the Khouribga phosphate mines; in addition, he says, "there have been many other strikes this year: bus drivers and seamen at Safi, farm labourers in the Medun and Ulan-Sian areas, filling-station personnel at Meknes, and 12,000 shoe-workers at Fez. They were fighting for the right to organize a co-operative society and receive government credits. All these and other struggles were led by the UMT."

In the Soviet view, the main enemies of Moroccan progress are the continued domination of foreign capital and unemployment, coupled with a government policy which is not active enough in uprooting them. The UMT itself is regarded as being to some extent guilty of not pressing hard enough for reform. Its rejection of the principle of class war is condemned. In general however, its activities appear to meet with Soviet support.

RECENT ARTICLES ON FRENCH-SPEAKING AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Soviet views on the various French-speaking African countries are now becoming increasingly diversified. Guinea, of course, already has long-standing ties with the USSR: this is exemplified in I.P. Gerasimov's article, reviewed below, on a Soviet scientific research expedition in Guinea; more extensive Soviet researches into Guinea's natural resources are foreshadowed. Mali is the subject of increasingly favourable comment by Soviet writers; Mali's foreign policy has earned Soviet approval, but the articles here reviewed deal with economic and social policy, and in particular questions of state planning and the development of co-operatives. Senegal is regarded in Soviet eyes as not yet effectively independent, so long as French firms dominate its economy, the French retain their base in Dakar and there are French officers in the Senegalese army. Persecution of "progressive fighters for African independence" is alleged; the trial of members of the (Marxist) Parti Africain de l'Independance is denounced. The government of Chad is considered to be still under French influence, and its attitude in the Congo crisis is regarded as a result of this. The rapprochement between the government of Upper Volta and the governments of Ghana, Mali and Guinea is regarded as a success for the anti-colonialist camp, but Upper Volta is a member of the Afro-Malagasy Union, which is denounced as "a tool of French colonialist policy" (NEW TIMES No.39 of 1961). The government of the Ivory Coast, and its President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, are a particular target of Soviet invective; they are presented as a mercenary clique, interested only in lining their own pockets, and hostile to true African

independence. The Central African Republic is regarded as still French-dominated, despite expressions of anti-colonialist sentiment. The Soviet attitude to Togo is more cordial; its domestic and foreign policies both meet with approval, but dependence on Western finance is deplored. The incorporation of British Togoland in Ghana is not commented upon.

Guinea

I.P. Gerasimov, "In a Young African Republic", VESTNIK AKADEMII NAUK (Bulletin of the Soviet Academy of Sciences), No.9 of 1961.

A delegation from the Soviet Academy of Sciences visited Guinea in February 1961; it included geographers, geologists and economists. The members of the delegation spent over a month in Guinea, visited its scientific establishments and undertook a journey of considerable extent (about 5,000 km.) around the country, making scientific observations. The main purpose of their visit was to work out a programme of scientific research into the natural resources of the country and their use in the best interests of its economic independence. In this they were at all times in close cooperation with the Guinean National Institute of Scientific Research in Conakry.

The delegation's itinerary covered practically the whole of Guinea, and the author gives a summary of its main geographical features: the coastal strip, originally forest; central Guinea, the high plateau of Fouta Djallon, treeless in its upper part, where rise the Niger and the Senegal; the Upper Niger plain, which was originally forest, but as a result of human habitation has now become grassland and scrub, burnt by the sun in the dry season and almost impassable in the wet; and the southern region, where the original tropical rain forest has remained and could provide valuable timber.

Guinea's wealth of natural resources is emphasized, and at the same time French exploitation of these is condemned as inspired only by profit motives, without concern for investment that would really benefit the country. The French, says Gerasimov, were most interested in the bauxite and iron ore deposits in the coastal region, although they also mined diamonds in the interior. On the coast they started the banana plantations, to the exclusion of almost every other crop. The natural balance was upset, and the Guineans' standard of living deteriorated; they were taken away from their traditional agricultural pursuits and exploited in the plantations and in the mines.

Guinea's efforts to develop its economy and make the fullest use of all available natural resources, Gerasimov goes on, are being assisted by the socialist countries - the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Poland and others. Although Guinea's resources are large and varied, they have not yet been fully studied. A large area of the country consists of old crystalline rock formations with many intrusions of various types and ages, and

these, with the numerous effusions below the surface soil, promise well for the discovery of useful metals. The large reserves of bauxite and iron ore have still not been properly surveyed. There are good prospects for gold and other metals and for diamonds.

In the field of agriculture Guinea's potential is enormous. Although at present many commodities have to be imported, a relatively small improvement in method and mechanization will make all the difference. A great future is also foreseen for all kinds of tropical products such as bananas, pineapples, citrus fruits, oil seeds, coffee, cocoa, cola nuts, etc. At present Guinea's exports of these products are insignificant, but they could be increased several times by a small improvement in efficiency and enlargement of the area under cultivation. Suitable land is available in plenty and the climate is favourable. The forests of southern Guinea and other regions could provide exceptionally valuable timber and a basis for a future cellulose and paper industry.

In view of all these possibilities, the delegation attaches great importance to the development of all research work aimed at discovering the potentialities of the country and exploiting them to the full. The work of the scientific stations abandoned by the French must be resumed, and a general survey of the country's resources must be carried out. This can be done thanks to the experience of technicians in the socialist countries, and particularly the USSR.

Mali

N.I. Gavrilov, "The Mali Republic - a Young Independent African State", NARODY AZII I AFRIKI (Peoples of Asia and Africa), No.4 of 1961.

Summary The Mali Republic, formed when Senegal seceded from the Mali Federation in August 1960, was assured from the first of the support of many African states and of the socialist countries. Since its union with Ghana and Guinea in December 1960 it has pursued a policy of positive neutrality, entering into various agreements with both the socialist countries and the USA. It continues to receive French aid, but will not tolerate interference in its internal affairs.

French colonialism left Mali very backward, and the new republic has to try to make good its deficiencies. Industry is almost non-existent, and there is only one hydro-electric station. Most of the population is agricultural, and the methods used are primitive. Communications are bad.

The government's first task is to reorganize agriculture. Since the peasantry lives on a patriarchal basis, the setting up of cooperatives should not be difficult; class differentiation as such hardly exists as yet, and the concept of private property is undeveloped. Income from agriculture is to be pooled and used to build schools and

cultural centres and to buy useful objects such as radios and musical instruments. Modern farming methods are being introduced. The cooperatives will ultimately be under state control, and it is hoped to increase production both for home consumption and for export.

Mining and industry is to be developed, especially factories for processing local raw materials, and some existing projects have been nationalized. All this, however, needs capital, and strict measures to conserve it are being taken; foreign firms particularly are subject to financial restrictions. Another problem to be solved is that of transport; the only railway, from Bamako to Dakar, has been out of use since the break-up of the federation with Senegal. Exports at present go to Bobo Dioulasso (Upper Volta) by road, and thence by rail to Abidjan. A railway is planned from Bamako to Bobo Dioulasso, and another to Kouroussa (Guinea).

The cultural level of the population is also being improved. In all new enterprises the USSR has given generous aid, which will help to liberate Mali from dependence on the capitalist and imperialist powers.

Yu. Dement'yev, "Cooperation in the Mali countryside", MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA (World Economics and International Relations), No.7 of 1961.

Summary The break between Senegal and Mali was caused by the insistence of the former on close cooperation with France, which Mali would not accept.

The French left Mali undeveloped, with almost 90 per cent of the children unable to get primary education, and with one hospital bed for each 1,700 head of population.

The Office du Niger had large plantations of rice around the inner Niger delta, which have now been nationalized and will be used also for cotton and sugar-cane. The former leases to peasants will be replaced by agricultural cooperatives. At present the social structure falls into three parts: patriarchal cooperatives, hired labour, and lease of land under the former French monopoly Office du Niger. Cooperatives have been organized in 2,000 villages, about 20 per cent of the whole; eventually there is to be a cooperative in every village. The administration may only advise cooperatives, not compel them to follow its advice. Cooperatives may form associations with one another. Their land is worked by young people, but family plots remain and are worked on a basis of mutual aid. Aid for the cooperatives can also come from the government. All members of the cooperative have a say in the running of it, but some authority also vests in the district commandant, who in turn is under the Ministry of Agriculture. The Department of Agriculture and Cooperation is to set up branches throughout the country,

one for every 15,000-20,000 inhabitants, and each divided into five or six smaller centres, which will provide mechanical equipment, seed, advice, etc.

Proper development of agriculture will demand an increase in the area under cultivation, rotation of crops, proper equipment; at present only 2-3 per cent of the peasantry use machinery, and it is expensive to buy. Though deep ploughing may cause erosion, there are many other types of agricultural work which can be done by machinery; much is already being done. The problem of mechanization is closely connected with social reform, and the government is taking both in its stride.

G. Radchenko, "The Mali Republic", VNESHNYAYA TORGOVLYA (Foreign Trade), No.6 of 1961.

Summary The mainstay of the Mali economy is cotton, all of which is exported; but productivity is low, except on experimental stations. Mali also exports gum arabic and kapok. One of the biggest exports outside cotton is cattle and sheep, but since facilities are lacking for their transport, they have to be exported on the hoof at low prices.

There are no foreign plantations in Mali today. Foreign monopolies used to control home and export trade and make profits larger than the government's annual budget. Practically the only industry as yet is the processing of raw materials, and there is only one electricity generating station, although hydroelectric projects on the Niger and Senegal are quite feasible. Phosphates, bauxite, magnesium and lithium have been discovered, but the deposits are not being worked. There is a possibility of finding oil in the northern part of Mali, and several foreign firms have prospecting concessions dating from before independence.

The government is embarking on socialist planning of economic development. Two dams are planned with hydro-electric stations; agricultural productivity is to increase almost twice, especially products for export; factories will be built, and machinery imported. The railway to Dakar cannot be used because of the break with Senegal, so highways must be built to connect with Conakry and Abidjan. Cooperatives and Government research centres will teach the peasants modern methods of agriculture. Whereas before independence 80 per cent of exports went to France, now trade in both directions is controlled by the state. State enterprise will limit private undertakings, but their role in the new economy will for the time being remain considerable.

All these reforms need financial help from outside, so Mali naturally turns to countries which will offer aid without compelling her to sacrifice any sovereignty. Cultural cooperation and trade agreements have been signed with the USSR, which has provided a loan of 40 million rubles for capital projects.

O. Maltsev, "What I saw in Mopti", NEW TIMES, No.30 of 1961.

Mopti has changed a great deal in the last 50 years, and has grown from a small settlement to a flourishing town of 20,000 inhabitants. It is lively and colourful, but disciplined. One of the striking things about it is the combination of Islamic dogmas with a surprising degree of emancipation of the women. The town exports fish, and has achieved more in the last couple of years than in decades under the French. There are very few French to be seen nowadays.

Agricultural machinery is in short supply at the moment, but co-operatives are being organized, and they will be able to buy them more easily. The government supplies the cooperatives with equipment at fixed prices and buys their produce direct; the dues paid by the co-operative members are used for the construction of irrigation systems. Nearly all the land is cultivable, but yields are low, as the soil is poor and liable to be flooded. Irrigation and fertilization are however paying dividends as also is the fight against pests.

Senegal

V. Sidenko, "Travel notes from Dakar", NEW TIMES, No.35 of 1961.

Summary Dakar is overlooked by the small island of Gorée, once a base whence the African slave-trade was carried on. Even now the town is not free from European domination. Dakar has grown rapidly, but the natives have benefited little from its growth. Even when so-called independence came, it was still unreal. The economy of the whole country is dominated by two or three foreign firms, who buy groundnuts - the country's staple export - at rock-bottom prices, selling third-rate products made from them in exchange, and making large profits. Most of the industry catered for the Europeans, and when independence came the market for goods became so small that several of the concerns had to shut down, causing unemployment. However, French control over the territory remained; military agreements were signed whereby the French retained their base in Dakar. Even Senegal's own army is not yet emancipated; all the officers are white, but there are no whites in the ranks. The people of Dakar, and indeed all Senegal, hate the sight of the French on their soil and long for the day when their independence will be more than an illusion.

S. Volk, "The Senegal Courts", AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA (Asia and Africa Today), No.8 of 1961.

Summary As a result of riots on election day, 30th July 1960, when a policeman was killed in uncertain circumstances, 15 students, workers

and members of the intelligentsia appeared before a court held in camera, accused of preparing to overthrow the republican government by force. This was only a pretext, and no conclusive evidence was ever produced. The people would not consent to let the proceedings be carried on in secret. The accused were members of the Parti Africain de l'Independance, which had been declared illegal on 31st July; but all the evidence of their membership dated from before that date, and several of the accused had to be freed. Nevertheless, two of the leaders were thrown into prison and treated as criminals; only after 17 days were they accorded the treatment of political prisoners, and that only at the insistence of the people.

"Progressive people of Africa and many countries of the world are disturbed at the reprisals by the agents of colonialism against the progressive warriors for African independence. Hundreds of letters and telegrams addressed to the Senegal Minister of Justice, Gabriel d'Arboussier, demanding the immediate release of the patriots."

Under pressure, the government was obliged to free the prisoners.

Chad

L. Ivanov, "Republic on the shores of Lake Chad", AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA (Asia and Africa Today), No.6 of 1961.

Summary The strategic position of Chad as a connecting link between French possessions in North, West and Equatorial Africa made it very important, and French bases are located there. Its inaccessibility, however, meant that human carriers were the main means of transport, which caused their early death; 40 per cent of the population is under 14 years old. The people of Chad are fast dying out; the cultivation of cotton to the exclusion of food crops contributes to this. Money was spent by the French not on hospitals and schools, but on their military installations and airport in Fort Lamy. No railway was built by them, although the Germans had a plan for one as early as 1906.

The new independent government of Chad is undertaking strict economy measures to improve living conditions, and replacing Europeans in the administration by Africans; in this it obviously had to yield to the will of the people. In its policy however some degree of capitalist influence is visible, resulting from the presence of foreign bases on their soil. Thus in April 1961 the Chad delegate to the United Nations supported the attempt to legalize the division of the Congo. "The Chad delegate 'demonstrated' the inevitability of the collapse of the Congo, and took it upon himself to reason about the 'immaturity' of the Congolese nation. Thus he became a propagandist for the worst calumny cast upon Africans by the colonizers."

Upper Volta

V. Verin, "Against the Colonialists", INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, No.7 of 1961.

Summary It was only reluctantly that the French were persuaded to grant independence to their colonies in West Africa, and even then they did their best to restrict their freedom with as many "treaties" as possible, preserving the power of the monopolies and undermining the independence of the new states. But the Upper Volta showed that it would not be dictated to by the colonialists, and refused to remain in the French Community like Dahomey, Niger and the Ivory Coast. President Yameogo demanded on 14th February 1961 that all French bases in the country should be closed down, and he has continued to win concessions from the colonialists since then. In his struggle he is actively supported by the governments of the independent African countries, Mali, Ghana and Guinea, with whom close contact is being maintained. Heads of Government of these states have visited each other and reaffirmed their determination to stand by each other in all attacks on their sovereignty by the colonialist powers.

Ivory Coast

V. Sidenko, "Where are the Elephant's Tusks?", AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA (Asia and Africa Today), No.8 of 1961.

Summary Abidjan has grown up from nothing in the last half century, but it possesses poor and squalid quarters as well as modern buildings. It is a large port, dealing with almost all the country's exports, as well as those of Mali, Niger and the Upper Volta. The economy of the Ivory Coast is very much dependent on cocoa and coffee prices, and although these have been good of late the outlook is not so good. Few foodstuffs are grown, and all commodities are supplied by foreign firms at prices up to three times as high as in Europe.

The Ivory Coast became a French colony in 1893, and forced labour was soon introduced. There was always racial discrimination. The hot and humid climate ensured, however, that no white man stayed there long; this is why there are black plantation owners also, the backbone of the bourgeoisie.

1946 saw the formation of the Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast, one of whose founder members was Felix Houphouet-Boigny, now President of the state. It fought under slogans which won the heartfelt support of the population, such as an end to forced labour, more political rights for the local population, an end to racial discrimination, and the struggle for independence. The Democratic Party became the rallying centre in the Ivory Coast for the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain, which was soon to start the struggle against colonialism in West Africa.

The French decided to reply to the party's threat by force; and at the end of 1949 several of the leaders of the movement were imprisoned. There were violent clashes between the population and the police.

"Frightened of the impetus of the liberation movement, the colonizers started talks with the leaders of the local bourgeoisie, promising them a number of concessions in political, economic and social matters. At the height of the anti-colonialist struggle the leadership of the Democratic Party betrayed the people by entering into agreement with the colonizers. The bargain made behind the backs of the national masses of the Ivory Coast cost the Democratic Party dear; its prestige was shaken. On the other hand this bargain gave the local bourgeoisie the opportunity for quick profit. The Democratic Party launched the slogan 'Get rich now - politics can wait'."

Since that time corruption has been rife throughout the country, including even the government. The country has opened its doors to adventurers and speculators, and the Democratic Party has done nothing to stop it. Since ministers were corruptible and the bourgeois were on the French side, the French had no hesitation in letting the Ivory Coast have independence in August 1960. President Houphouet-Boigny favours French atomic tests in the Sahara, and has made treaties with the French; he is a member of the imperialist Brazzaville group. However, progressive circles in the Ivory Coast are not satisfied with this state of affairs, particularly the young people.

M. Azembski, "Report on the Ivory Coast", NEW TIMES, No.40 of 1961.

Excerpt "What is happening within this stone fastness of colonialism is unlike developments in the other independent states of West Africa. In the Ivory Coast Republic, where 'natives' have been ruling almost 'independently' for some time now, there has begun a new political game of Africans against Africans. The Ivory Coast is becoming a capitalist state, in itself a rare development in this part of Africa. The French administration gave the 'black elite' the possibility of owning Lincolns and living in mansions in the centre of the city, and the elite has responded as the French hoped.

"The President of the Ivory Coast Republic is M. Felix Houphouet-Boigny. Naturally, he is an African by the colour of his skin, and, just as naturally, he is one of the richest planters in the country. Once upon a time he was all for progress and was one of the founders of the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain. Later, when he felt himself strong enough, he adopted Right-wing positions. Now he is a firm opponent of the Ghana-Guinea-Mali union....

"What does the morrow promise the Ivory Coast? Let me not pretend to be a prophet. One thing only is certain - the centre of Abidjan,

built up to sway the 'black elite' to the side of the colonialists, evokes the fury of the poor. The more luxury goods displayed in the shop windows the fiercer grows their anger."

Central African Republic

N. Pykhtunov, "Ubangi-Shari between the Rivers", AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA (Asia and Africa Today), No.7 of 1961.

Summary The present poverty of the population of the country accords ill with the fact that this was once the flourishing Bagirmi kingdom (XVII century). Since the advent of the French the population has declined by about half, having been exploited by the colonialists who were chiefly interested in the strategic advantages of the country and in its diamonds. French firms also had a monopoly of the cotton trade.

The Mouvement pour l'Evolution Sociale de l'Afrique Noire was founded in 1946 by Barthélémy Boganda, and in 1957 the first Government Council in which Africans took part was formed. At the beginning of 1959 there was an armed rising against the colonizers, which started in Chad and Gabon, and in August 1960 independence was proclaimed. The French claimed to have given the republic independence of their own free will.

On 11th October 1960 the Republic decided to break off relations with the representative of the French Community, Paul Bordier, emphasizing, however, that its relationships with France were to remain as cordial as ever. "Agreements on 'friendship and cooperation' were imposed on the country, whereby France retains control over the republic's armed forces, foreign relations, finance and higher education. The question of the liquidation of foreign military bases and the evacuation of French soldiers is not raised."

Togo

Z. Tokareva, "Here was the Slave Coast", AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA (Asia and Africa Today), No.9 of 1961.

Summary The first Togolese Government was formed by the pro-French Parti Togolais du Progrès in 1956, but the 1958 election was won by the patriotic Comité de l'Unité Togolaise in conjunction with "Juvento", under Sylvanus Olympio.

When the French left, industry was only primitive. Deposits of iron ore, bauxite, titanium, etc. had been discovered but not exploited; all metals were imported. All the country's cotton was exported, for lack of textile works. In spite of a favourable climate, sugar and rice

were also imported. There was one doctor for 27,000 of the population, and one hospital bed for 700. Infant mortality was high, and only one third of the children went to school.

The development plan for the republic is firstly concerned with agriculture and with such industries as will give a quick return for investment. The coastal phosphates have been worked since 1960. Togolese will be trained for administration in a special school, and African languages will be taught in all schools.

The financial help necessary for these improvements will come from outside, first of all from France. West Germany and the USA are also interested, and the Togo National Bank is run on American capital. Internally, the principle of "self-help" is applied, and voluntary labour forces are at work. The external policy of the new Republic is based on neutrality, non-participation in blocs, and friendly relations with all countries. Close links with France are preserved. On 12th June 1961 a trade agreement was signed between the USSR and Togo, and Khrushchev and President Olympio are to exchange visits.

THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE SOVIET PRESS

Below are reviewed reports on Middle East affairs appearing in Soviet newspapers during the period 10th September - 17th October.

The Syrian revolt Soviet reporting of events in Syria has been, from the outset of the revolt, scrupulously impartial. PRAVDA's first report of the revolt (29.9.61) was a short Tass dispatch from Cairo, reporting Nasir's broadcast speech; but on this and subsequent days the progress of the new Syrian regime was reported factually and without any note of disapproval. A Tass dispatch from Damascus reported expressions of Syrian support for the regime (PRAVDA 1.10.61); it was accompanied by a Reuter account of the new Syrian Government's programme - restoration of basic liberties, army reforms, economic stability and reform of the state apparatus - and of the government's intention to "improve relations with all states extending the hand of friendship". The early Cairo claims of popular resistance to the regime received no mention in the Soviet press. PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA (7.10.61) published an 800-word account of Nasir's speech of 5th October in which he said he did not want "a political and diplomatic blockade" of Syria, and was asking the UAR's UN delegate not to oppose Syria's application for UN membership.

PRAVDA reported on 8th October that on the previous day the Soviet Consul-General in Damascus had called on Ma'mun al-Kuzbari, Premier of

the Arab Republic of Syria, and informed him that the Soviet Government, having considered the Syrian Government's communication of 30th September, had decided to recognize the Arab Republic of Syria and to establish diplomatic relations with it at Embassy level. "The Soviet Government expresses the hope that relations between the USSR and the Arab Republic of Syria will develop on the basis of the principles of peaceful co-existence, in the interests of the peoples of both countries, and in the interests of the strengthening of peace throughout the world."

On the previous day PRAVDA had reported a declaration of the Syrian Communist Party, as published in the Lebanese newspaper AN-NIDA. This described recent events in Syria as "a historic victory won by the Syrian people in cooperation with the army", a victory which "found a widespread response in the Arab East and will have far-reaching consequences". Under the former government "thousands of patriots were thrown into prison, law-abiding citizens were killed in torture-chambers, and brother was set against brother". The Syrian Communist Party "stood in the van of those who sacrificed themselves and struggled against the dictatorial regime".

> "The Syrian people considers that the best way of maintaining the victory it has won is by setting up a national, democratic, anti-imperialist regime based on free elections, which will lead to the formation of the parliament and government of the Syrian Arab Republic. This regime will have to lean on the people and on its patriotic, progressive forces...It will restore democratic liberties. The national regime will have to free the imprisoned patriots...Syria needs a regime which would consolidate the conquests of the workers and peasants, restore to them the rights and liberties of which they have been deprived, strive to improve the material and cultural standard of living of the people, and lead to a blossoming of science and culture. Finally, this must be a truly popular regime. The Syrian Communist Party, which has always struggled for the creation of such a regime, considers that it could be instituted only on the basis of a national front, incorporating all national forces and movements regardless of party affiliation."

The new Syrian Government's proposal for a federation of Arab states was reported by PRAVDA (12.10.61) in some detail. It was noted that the foreign policy of the proposed federation would be based on peaceful co-existence, positive neutrality and non-adherence to blocs. On the following day PRAVDA briefly reported that the Arab League had rejected the proposal, since the Arab League already fulfilled all the functions which the proposed federation was supposed to assume.

On 17th October PRAVDA published a message from Khalid Baqdash, Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party, which, after praising the new programme of the Soviet Communist Party, stated:

"The people of the Syrian Arab Republic has been victorious in restoring its independence and is today rising to consolidate its ranks in a national front of struggle against imperialism, for democracy and for a resolute national liberation policy and genuine Arab unity. It now turns its eyes and hearts towards Moscow, where the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is meeting."

Other UAR topics No dispatches on political developments from the Cairo correspondents of PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA were published following the Syrian revolt. PRAVDA's correspondent I. Belyayev (11.10.61) sent an account of the success of the Soviet film festival in Cairo, and in particular of the film "Communist", shown in Cairo under the title "A Fighter for a Better Life".

IZVESTIYA (10.10.61) reported that the atomic reactor built by Soviet engineers near Inshas had begun full-capacity operation, and was ready for the production of radio-active isotopes. The chairman of the UAR atomic energy commission, Salah ad-Din Hidayat, had expressed his thanks to the Soviet and Arab experts who had cooperated in this project.

On 14th September PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA both published long dispatches from special correspondents who had visited the site of the Aswan High Dam. These expatiated on the achievements of the Soviet engineers at the site, but both ended on a note of dissatisfaction with the official UAR attitude towards publicity for the project. The following is an excerpt from the IZVESTIYA dispatch, by Boris Burkov:

"In Aswan we tactfully hinted that the narratives of the guides who accompanied foreign tourists made no mention of such a large project as the building of the Aswan dam.

"Mr. Abd al-Razzaq pronounced as an indisputable truth: 'Just now there's nothing to say about it - after all, the building hasn't been finished.'

"'But wouldn't the Arabs be interested to know how their brothers are working and learning and acquiring technical skill?'

"'They will find out later, when the dam is finished...'

"Although we returned to our old conversation, we did not try to argue. It was clear that this point of view, most unfortunately, was not confined to Mr. Abd al-Razzaq."

V. Mayevskiy, in PRAVDA, said that Abd al-Razzaq had observed that "there were no results so far".

"No results? And the thousands of cubic metres of rock excavated, the new houses, yesterday's illiterate fellahin handling gigantic tip-up lorries?...Is not the most important result the fact that thousands of Arab workers realize that they are not simply working for their daily bread but are engaged on the greatest construction in the history of their country and of Africa?"

Iraq An Iraqi military delegation led by Brig. Jalal Ja'far al-Awqati was received by Khrushchev on 16th September (PRAVDA 17.9.61).

Turkey The election campaign in Turkey was largely ignored by the Soviet press. An exception was an article in BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY (4.10.61) by Yu. Plotnikov. Plotnikov first examined the electoral and other provisions of the new Turkish Constitution, and endeavoured to show that these contained "undemocratic" clauses. Representatives of the Republican People's Party, he said, had "played a fundamental role" in working out the new Constitution; to insure themselves in the event of defeat in the Assembly elections, which were on the proportional representation system, they had contrived that the Senate should be elected on the majority system, "which provides wide possibilities for ignoring the voters' wishes". According to the Constitution, candidates for election must be able to read and write; "but the basic mass of the population is illiterate." Only persons with higher education could be elected to the Senate. Article 66 of the Constitution gave the Assembly the right to accept the stationing of foreign armed forces in Turkey; this amounted to "the legalization of Turkey's participation in the aggressive NATO and CENTO blocs". The connection between Turkey's vast military expenditure and her economic crisis, said Plotnikov, was being increasingly acknowledged. HURRIYET recently stated: "Many Turks regard non-participation in military blocs as the policy which would promote effective economic progress." Plotnikov concluded his article by alleging that anti-Communist propaganda had been much in evidence in the election campaign; the new US Ambassador Mr. Raymond Hare, he said, had offered the Turkish Government "material and technical assistance for conducting a large-scale propaganda campaign". Certain circles were using the election campaign for the purpose of preventing the improvement of relations between Turkey and the Soviet Union.

A Soviet Government statement concerning the NATO "Checkmate" exercise was handed to the Turkish Ambassador in Moscow on 23rd September (PRAVDA 26.9.61). It declared that the holding of such manoeuvres by the NATO countries at the present moment "indicates their provocative nature"; being held near the borders of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, "especially in present conditions", they could only be regarded as a hostile demonstration against these states. Turkey's participation in NATO and CENTO aggressive measures were incompatible with the task of strengthening peace in the area of the Black Sea and the southern borders of the USSR, or with the aims of improving Soviet-

Turkish relations.

> "It is to be regretted...that Turkey continues to pursue the discredited policy of the Menderes Government, which has since been overthrown, a policy of complicity in executing aggressive NATO and CENTO plans in areas situated at the approaches of the Soviet Union. It is also noteworthy that the permission given to NATO to use the Black Sea approaches and the Black Sea itself for the actual holding of manoeuvres is incompatible with international agreements on the regime of the Straits and the Black Sea or with the lawful interests of the Black Sea states. It is superfluous to point out that the Turkish Government thus assumes full responsibility for the possible consequences of such actions."

Western, and particularly US, reactions to the Yassiada sentences were the subject of an article in BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY (7.10.61). After quoting the NEW YORK TIMES on the loyalty of the Menderes government to NATO, and on American sympathy with Menderes, the paper commented: "These false tears and false lamentations only unmask those who inspired the anti-popular policy of the former Turkish rulers who have been cast on to the refuse-heap of history".

Persia PRAVDA (15.9.61) published a long statement by Jalal Mortazavi, a major in the Persian Army, who had asked for political asylum in the Soviet Union. He said that he had recently returned from a study course in the USA, where he had "become further convinced of the intentions of the rulers of that country, which regards Persia as a semi-colony and does everything to turn it into one of its strongholds in the Middle East, using the treachery of the Shah, his retinue and corrupt governments to achieve this foul aim". He had studied the situation in neighbouring countries which had established friendly relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, and became persuaded that Persia should follow their example and raise the living standards of its people in the same way. Later (17.9.61) PRAVDA published an interview with Maj. Mortazavi in which he alleged that US advisers were in virtual control of the Persian Army; he appealed to his compatriots to consider the fate of their country, to find a "new road" for it, and "to create a government of the people and for the people". He referred in particular to the alleged "CENTO documents" recently made public in the Soviet Union (see MIZAN NEWSLETTER No.8 of 1961, pp.12-13).

The Soviet press again quoted extensively from Persian newspaper articles calling for a policy of neutrality for Persia. Tass dispatches from Tehran reported (TRUD 30.9.61) large-scale unemployment owing to the cessation of road works, increasing bankruptcies and closing down of factories, and (TRUD 5.10.61) mass dismissals of workers, including 7,000 at the Abadan oil refineries.

Soviet oil exports and the Middle East countries PRAVDA (16.10.61) published a comment by its economic correspondent, Boris Rachkov, on the opening of the Arab countries' third annual congress on oil questions in Alexandria. Solidarity between "all countries exploited by the oil cartel", said Rachkov, was essential in order to "resist its colonial dictation". When an exploited country proved recalcitrant, the reply of the "oil cartel" was to remove its tankers and stop production and refining. Continuing their "economic aggression against the Arab countries", the oil companies were feverishly developing production in new regions - the Sahara, Libya, Canada and even Alaska and Greenland - in order to reduce their dependence on traditional producers; Esso and its associated companies were using Sahara oil as "a bludgeon over the heads of the Arabs".

> "But in order to deceive the vigilance of these countries, the oil kings are trying with redoubled energy to create panic about Soviet oil exports. The NEW YORK TIMES commentator Carmichael even advises the Arabs to include the question of the 'threat of Soviet oil' on the agenda for the forthcoming Alexandria congress.
>
> "The facts, however, show that the so-called problem of 'increasing displacement of Middle East oil by exports from the USSR' does not exist. In the last five years Soviet exports of oil have increased by 15 million tons. But at the same time, as a result of the rapid increase in the use of oil throughout the world, exports of it from other countries rose by 125-130 million tons, including Kuwait - 28, Iran - 25, Venezuela - 21, and Iraq - 16 million tons.
>
> "Thus the increase in Soviet oil exports is not at all exceptional. Even in Italy, West Germany and Japan, Soviet exports to which rose most sharply - by 8 million tons - supplies of Middle East and Venezuelan oil increased by 40 million tons.
>
> "Presumably the manoeuvres of the oil monopolies at the coming congress, calculated to set the Arab countries at odds with each other and with the other oil-producing countries, are unlikely to be any more successful than last year. The Arab countries have learnt to distinguish their true friends from their enemies."

AFRICA IN THE SOVIET PRESS

Below are reviewed reports on African affairs appearing in the Soviet press during the period 16th September - 15th October 1961.

Soviet Memorandum on Colonialism

On 30th September PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA published a 6,000-word "Memorandum of the Soviet Government on the Implementation of the Declaration on Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples". This claimed that the colonial powers had ignored the UN declaration on the elimination of colonialism, and it described in familiar Soviet terms the situation existing in colonial territories throughout the world. It said that it was now evident that the issuing of a declaration was not enough; "concrete measures" must be taken. The General Assembly must "declare 1962 to be the year of the final liquidation of colonialism". Colonial wars must be stopped; those responsible, like Portugal, must be subjected to sanctions. The UN organization must oblige the colonial powers to take steps to ensure that their colonies became independent states not later than the end of 1962. Since the colonialists, if they had their own way, would merely set "their own puppets" in authority, the UN must demand the immediate granting to the colonial populations of broad democratic rights and liberties, including universal suffrage, freedom of speech, press and assembly, and freedom to form their own national political parties, trade unions, etc. All laws embodying racial, religious and other discrimination must be repealed. In this connection the General Assembly would be acting with justice if it declared the exclusion of the Republic of South Africa from the UN, and the Security Council should apply appropriate sanctions against it, as provided by the UN Charter. The UN must also demand the annulment of all agreements directed to limiting the authority of future independent states. There must be strict supervision over the execution of these measures, and the UN should set up for this purpose a commission, with equal representation for "all the three basic groups of states - the socialist states, the countries belonging to Western military blocs, and the neutralist states".

Congo

Soviet reports on the UN operation in Katanga spoke of the "irresolution and passive attitude" of the UN command. A Tass report from Leopoldville (PRAVDA 20.9.61) said that the Congolese public were asking why the UN forces in Elizabethville had suddenly surrendered to Tshombe's soldiers within a few hours the positions that they occupied after their

"brilliant operation" (PRAVDA's quotes) three weeks ago. A deputy of the Balubakat Party told the PRAVDA correspondent that the conduct of the UN forces could only lead one to suspect that its plan of operations had, for a "sinister purpose", been disclosed to Tshombe long before decisive action began to be taken. The "dilatoriness and helplessness" of the UN authorities in the face of Tshombe's forces, which were receiving aid from a number of Western countries, had aroused serious disquiet in Leopoldville.

A Tass report on the agreement between Tshombe and the UN authorities (IZVESTIYA 22.9.61) said that this constituted a "new capitulation to the impudent Katanga puppet of the colonialists". The UN command had refused to give the central Congolese government any effective aid in restoring the unity of the country. The Tass commentator V. Khar'kov (PRAVDA VOSTOKA 23.9.61) said that by this "shameful bargain" the prestige of the UN organization had been undermined. The interests of the Congolese people had been sacrificed to the interests of the colonialists and the foreign monopolies which controlled Katanga's mineral resources; the UN administration was assisting the colonialists' attempts to suppress the freedom movement of the Congolese people. PRAVDA (26.9.61) reported that Gen. Lundula had sent a telegram to the Congolese Premier Adoula declaring that, as soon as he received instructions from the government, his forces would invade Katanga to "finish with Tshombe's separatist clique" and to reunite the republic. Soviet newspapers claimed that Tshombe was still employing large numbers of European mercenaries; KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA (1.10.61) said there were 340 of them; PRAVDA (4.10.61) quoted at length from a DAILY HERALD dispatch of 3rd October describing interviews with British and South African mercenaries.

Allegations of British responsibility for Mr. Hammarskjoeld's death were quoted and enlarged on in Soviet newspapers. PRAVDA (20.9.61) reported a UN representative in Leopoldville as saying that, at the time of Mr. Hammarskjoeld's flight, two Katanga aircraft, both piloted in turn by a Northern Rhodesian pilot, had been harassing the UN forces; the possibility of Mr. Hammarskjoeld's aircraft having been shot down could not be excluded. The GHANAIAN TIMES was quoted by PRAVDA (21.9.61) for an article alleging that "the British Government together with ruling circles in Northern Rhodesia and the Tshombe clique" had contrived the murder of Mr. Hammarskjoeld "with the aim of complicating the Congo problem, detaching Katanga from the Congo and preserving their rule in Rhodesia". IZVESTIYA (5.10.61) published a long article by Boris Izakov, commentator of the Novosti news agency, who, while admitting that "we are not interested in the personality of Hammarskjoeld himself", said that it was "impossible to pass over the repulsive spectacle" which the circumstances of his death had revealed, "throwing a sharp light on the cesspool of colonialism". The "suspicious circumstances" which this commentator adduces, however, are so mutually conflicting that it would be difficult to give a coherent account of his article. He concludes that "in a case where direct evidence is lacking" it is usual to ask who would have profited by any given crime; in this case,

he says, those who would have profited by "a fatal denouement of Hammarskjoeld's mission" were the French "ultras" in Tshombe's service, the British and Belgian secret services, and "the government of Roy Welensky". Izakov suggests that Mr. Hammarskjoeld, under pressure from the Afro-Asian bloc, wanted a settlement of accounts with Tshombe; the Americans, "to whom Hammarskjoeld was so close", favoured this, since they saw a chance of wresting Katanga from their "European rivals"; the latter were therefore interested in the failure of Mr. Hammarskjoeld's mission.

Dissatisfaction with certain aspects of political developments in Leopoldville was expressed in a dispatch from the Tass correspondent G. Fedyashin (KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA 27.9.61). After a reference to administrative and economic difficulties, lack of teachers and doctors, etc., Fedyashin said that Adoula's government was showing resolution in overcoming these "legacies of the crisis". The Congolese parliament had been demanding the removal from the state and administrative apparatus of all foreign advisers, "who are deliberately sabotaging the efforts of the Congolese authorities". In the Foreign Ministry and the security service there were still former officials of the Belgian Foreign Ministry and Sûreté. The Western imperialists were "trying to prevent the strengthening of the Congo's relations with a number of friendly states"; and, surprisingly, such activities were finding support among official Congolese Foreign Ministry circles. At a session of parliament on 23rd September deputies had sharply criticized leading Foreign Ministry officials and the Foreign Minister Bomboko himself for trying to put difficulties in the way of the Congo's relations with friendly countries. The Leopoldville newspaper MATIN had complained of "manoeuvres playing into the hands of the colonialists".

Algeria

Commenting on President de Gaulle's broadcast of 3rd October, IZVESTIYA's Paris correspondent S. Zykov (4.10.61) noted that he had defined more clearly than previously the conditions on which he was ready to resume talks with the Algerian side, including rights and guarantees for French people wishing to remain in Algeria and cooperation between the future Algeria and France; but he had not mentioned the Sahara and certain other subjects "disagreements on which served as a pretext for the French side to break off the Evian negotiations". He had said that for the preparation of the referendum "a so-called Algerian force publique" would be set up, and special armed forces for the purpose. (Note: There was no other comment in the Soviet press on this proposal). The prospect of renewed French-Algerian talks could only be welcomed by the French public, "but, as the democratic press points out, de Gaulle has more than once made promising declarations - the issue is whether his words will be translated into reality".

The activities of the French "ultras" received much notice in the French press; S. Zykov, in a dispatch from Paris (IZVESTIYA 6.10.61)

described the operations of the OAS (Organization de l'Armee Secrete) and emphasized the growth in France of "anti-fascist committees uniting Left-wing parties and trade union organizations".

Tunisia

PRAVDA (5.10.61) published the texts of messages exchanged between President Bourguiba and Khrushchev. Bourguiba, in a message dated 24th August, said that he had heard with great satisfaction from his Foreign Minister Dr. Muqaddam, who visited Moscow, of the close attention given by the Soviet Government and Khrushchev in person to the "French imperialist aggression in Bizerta", and of "the lively interest and profound understanding which the Soviet Government shows in the affairs of Tunisia". The Tunisian people appreciated the Soviet UN delegation's support for Tunisia. In his reply, dated 25th September, Khrushchev said that the Soviet Union, "proceeding from the general principles of the Leninist policy" supported peoples struggling to consolidate national independence and liquidate foreign military bases; it was convinced that Tunisia would achieve its aim of liquidating the French base in Bizerta. The Tunisian Foreign Minister's statement, that his government's position in the matter of foreign military bases and blocs and in general on the preservation of international peace and security "coincides with the position of the Soviet Government", had been received with satisfaction.

PRAVDA (25.9.61) published a dispatch from Bizerta by its special correspondent N. Prozhogin, who drew a picture of grim ruthlessness on the French side and liberating enthusiasm on the Tunisian side, and claimed that the French parachutists had perpetrated atrocities. He contrasted the attitude of the Soviet Union, as "the only great power supporting Tunisia at the UN", with that of the USA. He said that, according to the Tunisian weekly AFRIQUE ACTION, the US ambassador in Paris had reported to President Kennedy: "As regards the Algerian problem and the Tunisian aggression against Bizerta, it is necessary as before to place full confidence in de Gaulle".

According to Tunis radio (31.8.61) a Tunisian-Soviet agreement was signed on 30th August providing for a 12-year Soviet loan to Tunisia of 25 million rubles at 3 per cent interest, for the purpose of building five dams and setting up an agricultural school for 700 students. This agreement does not appear to have been reported in the Soviet press.

Other Countries

Morocco A delegation of Moroccan ulema led by Allal al-Fassi, Minister of State for Islamic Affairs, visited the USSR from 8th September to 3rd October, at the invitation of the Muslim Religious Board of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. The delegation spent most of their time in Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan and Azerbaydzhan.

Guinea On the occasion of the third anniversary of the Guinean Republic Khrushchev and Brezhnev sent a message of greetings to President Sekou Toure, and the Soviet All-Union Council of Trade Unions sent a message of solidarity to the National Federation of Workers of Guinea (PRAVDA 2.10.61). The Guinean Ambassador in Moscow gave a reception on 2nd October; speeches were made by him and by N.A. Mukhitdinov. The Soviet press published enthusiastic articles on Guinea's progress during the past three years. O. Orestov (PRAVDA 2.10.61) noted that the Guinean Government's recent decision on the unification of educational programmes had aroused opposition from "the reactionary Catholic priesthood and the missionaries", who would no longer be allowed "to carry on malicious anti-national propaganda" in the schools. The Archbishop of Conakry, who had denounced the Democratic Party's decisions on the schools, had been ordered to leave Guinea. While the colonialists and their agents were in this way preparing provocations within the republic, the country's foreign policy, and in particular its friendly ties with the socialist countries, were "arousing the displeasure of international reaction".

Mali On the first anniversary of the independence of the Republic of Mali a meeting was held in Moscow in the House of Friendship with the Peoples of Foreign Countries. It was attended by the Mali and Guinean Ambassadors and Embassy personnel and by Mali students studying in Moscow (PRAVDA 23.9.61). Articles on the anniversary praised Mali's progress and its economic and social aims, and emphasized the importance of the Soviet-Mali economic and technical cooperation agreement (PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA, TRUD and BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY 22.9.61).

Congo (Brazzaville) The government delegation from Brazzaville led by the Congo Minister of Planning Massambat-Debat, which arrived in Moscow on 6th September, was received by Khrushchev on 19th September, and a friendly discussion took place (PRAVDA 20.9.61). No other details of the delegation's visit have been published in the Soviet press.

PRAVDA (20.9.61) noted that the Congolese Government in Leopoldville had closed the country's frontiers with the former French Congo, as a result of "President Fulbert Youlou's open support for the Katanga separatists". PRAVDA VOSTOKA (21.9.61) noted that, according to the Congolese Minister of Information Ileo, Fulbert Youlou had issued an ultimatum demanding that the UN forces should cease fire and leave Katanga not later than 20th September; if they did not, Youlou threatened to send his forces to assist Tshombe. Ileo had replied that the Congolese Government and army were determined to reunite the Congo.

Ghana IZVESTIYA (26.9.61) said that President Nkrumah's decision to assume personal command of the armed forces had been warmly welcomed by the Ghanaian public. The reorganization of the Ghanaian Government was reported in detail (PRAVDA 3.10.61). PRAVDA said that the change in the command of the armed forces and the government reorganization -

"questions which are purely the internal affair of the Republic of Ghana" - had caused "irritation" in Washington. The NEW YORK TIMES had "expressed regret that the Opposition in Ghana 'is at present not well enough organized to overthrow the Nkrumah government'". In the British press, said PRAVDA, there had been "a malicious campaign of slander against the Republic of Ghana and personally against President Kwame Nkrumah". The disclosure of the anti-government plot in Ghana and the consequent arrests were reported without comment (PRAVDA 5.10.61).

Under the heading "Not aid, but a means of pressure" PRAVDA (26.9.61) published the news that the US Government had postponed an agreement on aid for the Volta river project. PRAVDA quoted the NEW YORK TIMES for the view that President Nkrumah's recent statements on international issues, and his long visits to the USSR and other socialist countries, had influenced the US decision.

KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA (5.10.61) published a long account by its special correspondent V. Iordanskiy of a 2,300 kilometre tour of Ghana in the Soviet helicopter which was presented to President Nkrumah by the Soviet Government. The helicopter had a crew of four Russians.

Nigeria The Soviet All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions sent a message of solidarity to the conference of the Nigerian Congress of Trade Unions (TRUD 21.9.61).

To mark the first anniversary of the Federation of Nigeria a soiree was held in the House of Friendship with the Peoples of Foreign Countries in Moscow. Speeches were made by Prof. Potekhin, the Pravda correspondent Orestov, and V.S. Yeshurin, the author of a documentary film about Nigeria. Afilaka Abraham Afolabi, the leader of the association of Nigerian students, expressed gratitude to the Soviet Union for assisting African students to obtain higher education (PRAVDA 30.9.61).

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